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QUOTE

S E C R E T AMMAN 1135

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DEPT PASS USCINCEUR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, US, JO
SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY: THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES ANNUAL POLICY
ASSESSMENT BEING GIVEN WIDER DISTRIBUTION SHORTLY
BY AIRGRAM.

2. U.S.-JORDANIAN TIES, WHILE CLOSE AND IMPORTANT
TO BOTH SIDES, WERE WEAKENED DURING THE PAST YEAR.
JORDAN CONCLUDES (A) THAT OUR PEACE EFFORTS
HAVE NOT PRODUCED MUCH FOR JORDAN, (B) THE ISRAELI
LOBBY IN US AND WITH CONGRESS IS STRONGER THAN IT THOUGHT, (C)

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THE RELIABILITY OF US COMMITMENTS (INCLUDING WEAPONS SUPPLIES)
IS QUESTIONABLE, AND (D) JORDAN NO LONGER OCCUPIES
A UNIQUE PLACE AMONG THE ARABS IN US MIDDLE EAST
POLICY. IF THE JORDANIANS BELIEVED THE 82ND AIRBORNE

WOULD HAVE COME TO THEIR RESCUE IN 1970, THEY CERTAINLY
DO NOT BELIEVE SO NOW.

3. CONCURRENTLY, JORDAN HAS TRIED TO
IMPROVE ITS ARAB TIES, PARTICULARLY WITH SYRIA--A
RAPPROCHEMENT THAT WE BELIEVE WILL GROW. WHILE
JORDAN WILL TRY TO MODERATE SYRIA'S BEHAVIOR,
THERE ARE DANGERS THAT SYRIA WILL ALSO DRAW AMMAN
ALONG ITS OWN RADICAL COURSE IN MIDEAST DIPOOMACY.

4. OUR CONTINUING INFLUENCE IN JORDAN
WOULD BE MOST ENHANCED BY SUCCESSFUL PEACE
INITIATIVES, AND WILL REQUIRE A CAREFUL NURTURING
OF JORDANIANS' SOMETIMES EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITIES,
NIMBLE FOOTWORK ON OUR PART TO KEEP DEVELOPMENTS
ON COURSE, AND REASSURANCES THAT WE HAVE AN
INTEREST IN JORDAN'S AND THE REGIME'S LONG
TERM VIABILITY.

5. WE BELIEVE OUR ACTIONS WITHIN THE COMING
YEAR SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON DEVELOPMENT THAT WILL
--REINFORCE JORDAN'S WILL AND ABILITY TO PURSUE
A MODERATE, INDEPENDENT POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS SYRIA AND THE FEDAYEEN.
MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AT
SIGNIFICANT FUNDING LEVELS ARE IMPORTANT TO THIS
EFFORT;
--GET JORDAN'S SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO
KEEP PEACE NEGOTIATIONS GOING. SHOULD WE MOVE
TOWARD INCLUDING THE PLO IN NEGOTIATIONS, WE
MUST PROVIDE EARLY WARNING AND ALSO
SIGNAL TO THE GOJ OUR INTEREST IN CONTINUING OUR
LONG TERM SPECIAL TIES TO JORDAN.
--OBTAIN JORDANIAN SUPPORT ON MULTILATERAL
DIPLOMATIC ISSUES CONSISTENT WITH OUR AND
JORDAN'S MAJOR INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST;
--STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF
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KING HUSSEIN'S REGIME AS THE BEST OF THE LIKELY
ALTERNATIVES IN TERMS OF OUR INTERESTS. WE WILL
TRY TO USE OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN WAYS
THAT INCREASE THE GOJ'S CONCERN AND ACTION WITH
REGARD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE
AND EQUITY. END SUMMARY.

6. OVERVIEW.

A. IN 1975 WE HAVE SEEN WHAT THE JORDANIANS PERCEIVE AS A RUN-
DOWN IN US EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE IN THE AREA. WHAT
HAS REPLACED IT IS INCREASING ARAB FACTIONAL IN-
FIGHTING AND SYRIAN ASSUMPTION OF SOME LEADERSHIP

ON THE ARAB SIDE ON WHERE THINGS GO NEXT.

B. FOR THE US THIS HAS MEANT A COOLING OFF
IN THE POST-OCTOBER WAR HONEYMOON WITH JORDAN.
SEVERAL FACTORS HAVE INFLUENCED THIS: THE FAILURE
OF DISENGAGEMENT EFFORTS TO PRODUCE ANYTHING FOR
JORDAN IN 1974 AND THE SUBSEQUENT RABAT SUMMIT
IN WHICH THE JORDANIANS HAVE ALLOTTED TO US (AND
THE US HAS TOLD THEM IT ACCEPTS) SOME BLAME;
THE HAWK MISSILE EPISODE OF 1975; THE INCREASING
PERCEPTION OF JORDAN THAT THE US CONGRESS AND,
TO AN EXTENT THE ISRAELI LOBBY, HAS GAINED GREAT
INFLUENCE IN US MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY; US
APPARENT INABILITY TO TAKE ON THE SOVIETS IN
PLACES LIKE ANGOLA; AND A PERCEPTION THAT THE
US IS NOT AS RELIABLE AS PREVIOUSLY AS A WEAPONS
SUPPLIER AND MILITARY SUPPORTER. THE LAST COUNT
IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT IF THE JORDANIANS
THOUGHT THE 82ND AIRBORNE WOULD HAVE COME TO THEIR
RESCUE IN 1970, THEY CERTAINLY DO NOT THINK SO NOW.

C. CONCURRENTLY, THE JORDANIANS HAVE BEGUN
A PROCESS OF IMPROVING ARAB TIES. FOR A NUMBER OF
REASONS (WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPLORED AND ASSESSED
EARLIER) THE TREND HAS FOCUSED HEAVILY TOWARD
SYRIA. THERE APPEARS TO BE GROWING, FOLLOWING THE
EARLY HEADLONG RUSH TO DAMASCUS, A TENDENCY TO
TEMPER THE SPEED OF RAPPROCHMENT. WE STILL

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BELIEVE THE CURRENT DIRECTION IS TOWARD THE SLOW
EVOLUTION OF CONFEDERAL TIES WITH SYRIA. IT IS TOO EARLY
OBVIOUSLY TO PREDICT THE RESULTS, I.E. HOW FAR THIS
EVOLUTION WILL GO AND WHAT THE FINAL STAGE MIGHT BE. THERE
IS STILL MUCH OPPOSITION IN JORDAN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SUCH TIES.

D. JORDANIANS DO NOT SEEM AT THIS POINT TO
BE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY ANOTHER TREND--THE
GRADUAL, BUT STILL PERCEPTIBLE EFFORT OF THE
UNITED STATES TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PALESTINIANS
AND THE PLO.

E. FOR THE FUTURE, THE SINGLE MOST SIGNIFICANT
FACTOR WILL BE THE ISSUE OF WAR OR PEACE IN THE
AREA. JORDAN, WE BELIEVE, WILL CONTINUE TO ACT IN
WAYS WHICH IT PERCEIVES WILL MODERATE THE COURSE OF
EVENTS. HOWEVER, AS JORDAN GROWS CLOSER TO SYRIA,
AND WE ASSUME THE RELATIONSHIP WILL PROBABLY BE CLOSE AS
LONG AS ASAD IS IN POWER, THERE ARE DANGERS THAT JORDAN'S
ATTEMPTS TO MODERATE SYRIAN VIEWS WILL BE OVERCOME
BY SYRIAN ATTEMPTS TO BRING JORDAN ALONG WITH IT.

F. OUR INFLUENCE IN JORDAN OVE THE NEXT
YEAR AND BEYOND WILL DEPEND ON A NUMBER OF FACTORS.
FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT WILL BE HOW EFFECTIVE
WE CAN BE ABOUT PEACE INITIATIVES. SHOULD WE
REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA, JORDAN IS LIKELY
TO TEMPER ITS PRESENT COURSE OF SPREADING ITSELF AROUND THE
ARAB WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY SYRIA, AND THUS THE POTENTIAL OF
COMING UNDER GREAT RADICAL INFLUENCE. SIMILARLY, OUR
GENERAL CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY AND THE
RESPONSIVENESS OF OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WILL
BE SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN KEEPING JORDAN MODERATE
AND HELPFUL. WHILE TO DO SO IS ILLOGICAL AND SOMEWHAT
NAIVE FOR THEM, THE JORDANIANS ARE ALSO FLIRTING WITH THE
SOVIETS. THE DANGERS ARE THAT IN A SMALL STATE,
UNDER VIRTUAL ONE-MAN RULE, PERSONAL EMOTIONS CAN
SOMETIMES SUBSTITUTE FOR SUPERIOR LOGIC IN
DETERMINING NATIONAL INTERESTS AND COURSES OF ACTION.
HERE QUIET COUNSELING AND A QUICK RESPONSE TO WELL-
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CONCEIVED REQUESTS FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE ARE THE
BEST MEANS OF HELPING SET A SENSIBLE COURSE FOR THE
FUTURE.

G. IN SUM, THE YEAR AHEAD, BARRING THE
UNFORESEEN, LOOKS LIKE A MORE LIVELY VERSION OF
THE YEAR PAST. WE WILL NEED TO CONTINUE TO BE
QUICK ON OUR FEET TACTICALLY TO KEEP DEVELOPMENTS
ON COURSE. OVER THE LONG RUN THE JORDANIANS NEED
TO HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF OUR BASIC STRATEGY FOR
THE AREA AND NEED AS WELL A REKINDLING OF FAITH
AND CONFIDENCE IN WHAT WE ARE DOING. HAPPILY,
THE KING'S COMING VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES
PROVIDES A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO DO THIS.

7. IN ASSESSING THE PAST YEAR'S DEVELOPMENTS
AND TRENDS AND ESTABLISHING POLICY OBJECTIVES AND
PROGRAMS FOR YEAR AHEAD, WE SEE JORDAN AS IMPORTANT
TO THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE
--ITS LONG FRONTIER WITH ISRAEL AND ITS CENTRAL LOCATION
IN THE AREA MAKE IT DIRECTLY IMPORTANT TO ARAB AND ISRAELI
CALCULATIONS ABOUT ANOTHER WAR AND IN REGULATING THE FEDAYEEN'S
ABILITY TO PROVOKE ANOTHER WAR;
--AS A MODERATE STATE,ITS POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS
AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR MODERATE INFLUENCE ON OTHER ARABS OFFER
AN OPTION FOR MAINTAINING THE MOMEMTUM OF PEACE TALKS;
--IT CONTRIBUTES TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE ARAB PENINSULA;
-- IT OFFERS PROSPECTS OF OCCASIONAL DEFECTON
FROM THIRD WORLD BOLC VOITNG ON NON-MIDDLE EAST MULTILATER
DIPLOMATIC ISSUES.

8. IN THE YEAR AHEAD, WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE JORDAN'S WISH TO AVOID WAR WITH ISRAEL AND STRENGTHEN ITS ABILITY TO PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT AND MODERATE POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT MEANS IN PART TRYING TO CIRCUMSCRIBE JORDAN'S INCREASINGLY CLOSE TIES WITH SYRIA. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE JORDAN WITH THE WHEREWITHAL AND COOPERATION TO BE CAPABLE OF ADEQUATELY DEFENDING ITSELF AGAINST SYRIA (AND IRAQ) AND THE FEDAYEEN. THUS, WE SHOULD ASSIGN JORDAN HIGH PRIORITY IN STATE -DOD PLANNING
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FOR ASSISTANCE FUNDS TO ACQUIRE NEEDED WEAPONS AND TRAINING SLOTS, AND ALSO MAINTAIN USG DISPOSITION TO CONTINUE HIGH-LEVEL,SPECIAL EFFORTS QUICKLY TO OVERCOME AD HOC AND OPERATIONAL SNAGS IN OUR PROGRAMS, SUCH AS THOSE CONCERNED WITH FINANCING JORDAN'S HAWK MISSILES. WE ALSO WANT TO CONTINUE HIGH LEVEL REASSURANCE OF U.S. SUPPORT OF JORDAN'S INDEPENDENT, MODERATE POSITION AND ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THROUGH CONTINUED SENIOR LEVEL VISITS, CONSULTATIONS, AND BRIEFINGS, AND ACTIVE SUPPORT WHERE APPROPRIATE OF JORDAN'S DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES. WE ALSO INTEND TO CALL JORDAN'S ATTENTION TO INSTANCES IN WHICH IT UNDERMINES ITS OWN MODERATE STANCE, THUS JEOPARDIZING JORDANIAN AS WELL AS OUR INTERESTS.

9. WE COULD DO LITTLE (PRESUMING WE WANTED TO) TO REVERSE JORDAN'S CURRENT RELUCTANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN WEST BANK NEGOTIATIONS, OTHER THAN PRESS ISRAEL TO BE MORE GENEROUS IN ITS INITIAL OFFER FOR TALKS (ALSO IN ITSELF A SEEMING NON-SGARTER). IF WE MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF INVOLVING THE PLO IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS, WE WILL NEED TO GIVE KING HUSSEIN EARLY WARNING AND A REASSURANCE OF OUR CONTINUING RECOGNITION OF JORDAN'S IMPORTANCE TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT AND OUR SUSTAINED INTEREST IN CLOSE BILATERAL TIES. OJR GOING MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WILL ALSO HELP IN THIS , AND WE SHOULD ALSO LOOK AT NEW INITIATIVES IN BUILDING LONG TERM ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL TIES BEYOND THOSE OF MUTUAL SECURITY. MEANWHILE, WE WANT TO KEEP JORDAN FROM PUBLICLY CRITICIZING OUR PEACE EFFORTS AND HAVE KING HUSSEIN USE HIS APPARENTLY IMPROVED INFLUENCE INT DAMASCUS TO MODERATE SYRIA'S DIPLOMATIC STANCE-- AN EFFORT THAT WE ALSO MIGHT LOOK AT GEETING THE SAUDIS TO SUPPORT. FURTHER, IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST, WITHOUT GETTING IN BETWEEN SADAT AND HUSSEIN, TO DO WHAT WE CAN QUIETLY TO TRY TO HELP TO KNIT TOGETHER THE GROWING RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

10. JORDAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLITICAL STABILITY

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IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA IS SOMETIMES MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN OURS, AND IT HELPS CONTINUE THE FLOW TO AMMAN OF ARAB OIL PRODUCING STATES' FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES THAT OTHERWISE WE MIGHT BE LOOKED ON TO SUPPLY. WE WANT TO ASSIST JORDAN IN ITS MODEST PROGRAM OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO THE GULF AND CONTRIBUTE TO ITS ABILITY TO DO SO. THUS, WE SHOULD CONTINUE HIGH LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH KING HUSSEIN ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PENINSULA AND SEEK QUICK RESPONSES FROM THE DEPARTMENT TO HIS REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION AND OUR HELP FOR HIS INITIATIVES.

11. WE HAVE LESS IMPACT NOW ON JORDAN'S ALIGNMENT WITH THE ARAB BLOC ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, ALTHOUGH JORDAN SOMETIMES TRIES TO EXERT A MODERATE INFLUENCE IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS OF ARAB STATES. JORDAN'S OTHER INTERESTS AS A SMALL, CONSERVATIVE STATE BORDERED BY MORE POWERFUL AND IN SOME CASES RADICAL NEIGHBORS AND POSSESSING FEW NATURAL RESOURCES, HOWEVER, PROVIDE US WITH OPPORTUNITIES TO KEEP JORDAN FROM VOTING IN BLANKET FASHION WITH THIRD WORLD BLOCS. WE PLAN TO RELY ON THE DEPARTMENT'S NEW IO/MLA OFFICE MORE TIMELY INFORMATION TO ENCOURAGE JORDAN TO LOOK AT MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN TERMS OF THEIR AFFECT ON ITS SPECIAL INTERESTS, ESPECIALLY THE NON-MIDDLE EAST ISSUES.

12. KING HUSSEIN'S GOVERNMENT SEEMS THE BEST JORDANIAN REGIME TO SERVE OUR INTERESTS OF ANY OF THE LIKELY ALTERNATIVES--I.E, EAST BANKERS WITH AN ISOLATIONIST OUTLOOK OR, HOWEVER UNLIKELY IT APPEARS NOW, A PALESTINIAN MORE PRO-PLO, AND ACTIVELY ANTI-ISRAEL GOVERNMENT. WHILE WE KNOW OF NO IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, THERE IS SOME DISGRUNTLEMENT WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND AMONG CIVILIANS ABOUT INFLATION, ALLEGED SLIGHS OF INDIGENOUS EAST BANKERS IN ASSIGNMENTS AND PROMOTIONS, RUMORS OF CORRUPTION AND NEPOTISM, AND THE KING'S INFATUATION WITH FOREIGN AND MILITARY MATTER TO THE NEGLECT OF DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL EQUITY. OUR ABILITY

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IS LIMITED TO AMELIORATE SUCH INTERNAL POLITICAL WEAKNESSES (WHICH ARE NOT IMMINENT THREATS,) BUT WE INTEND TO DIRECT MISSION PROGRAMS WHERE APPROPRIATE AND FEASIBLE TOWARD INCREASING GOJ'S CONCERN

AND ACTION ON QUESTION OF POLITICAL BALANCE, LONG-TERM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE TO SHIFT FROM BUDGET SUPPORT TO A MORE PROJECT- ORIENTED DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAM.

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